The Weekly Newspaper of the Peace Pledge Union serving all who are working for Peace

Week

to be on

d, of course, ARY 27, 25

E.C.4; 1.10 noster Row; A New Year

J. group. 5.30 p.m. 13 general meet

2.30—5 p.m. Central Hall;

George Lanster, Dr. Alexusman (chair

ON; 8 p.m. Street; James rman), Miss anon Stuart

HAM; Albert Morris, Wil-

Y PARK; 8 rch (opposite th Fry, Lord tham Brown;

anon ald O. Soper.

London: January 1, 1938

NEW YEAR MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

WAR of every kind or for any cause is not only a denial of Christianity but a crime against humanity, which is no longer to be permitted by civilized people.

> -The foundation of the Peace Pledge Union-a statement in Dick Sheppard's letter to the press, October 16, 1934.

OTHING could be more suitable as a message to be given to Britain and to the world by the Peace Pledge Union during the car which begins today than these words from the statement out of hich the Peace Pledge Union itself began. This year, more than ver, it is a message that needs spreading.

American Policy Moving Nearer to War

BRITAIN FANS FLAMES INSTEAD OF REMOVING THE CAUSE

Japanese apology regard-Ig the Panay incident, signs are ot lacking that American policy moving toward war in the Far

On Tuesday President Roosevelt announced that he might ask Congress to increase the navy's strength still further.

First among the needs of a nation which may go to war is national China, for it added: Hence Mr. Alfred Landon, defeated Republican candidate at last year's presidential election, sent a telestam to Mr. Roosevelt pledging upport of the U.S. Government's reign policy.

PARALLEL WITH 1914

One of the motives prompting Mr. andon to do this was the parallel between today and 1914, when memers of the British Parliament "gave impression that England either would not or could not fight. . . ."

Not only must America "coperate," she must be ready to soume military leadership in the of Colonel E. M. House, who declared week that that war might be already in the making, and added that the cooperation of the U.S.A. with Britain and France was vital to the maintenance of peace.

It is this cooperation, and American leadership, which certain quarters in Britain want to bring about. As PEACE NEWS showed last week, American action to check Japan's dvance in China would not only maintain America's position in the Far East—it would help to safeguard Britain's too. So England expects America to do her duty!

ESPITE formal acceptance "stirring" Mr. Eden's announcement by the U.S.A. of the that the British Government was "constantly, daily, in close cooperation' with the U.S. Government.

SELF-INTEREST

On Christmas Eve the New York Times took up the theme in a leading article which said the two countries were "moving on parallel lines in an attempt to restore order, decency, and safety in the world." But the same article revealed that the real object was to protect imperialist interests in

The parallel course is as sensible as it is strong. Self-interest automatically suggests it. . . In consulting with the British and proceeding as they are proceeding, the United States are not pulling their chestnuts out of the fire. We have chestnuts of our

Naturally any suggestion of war fever is repugnant to most Americans -at present. Senator Borah condemned "war feeling" last week, but went on:-

The world has ample proof that the people of the United States can and will fight, and there is a point at which every self-respecting nation must take up arms

The trouble is that Americaegged on by Britain—is heading for that point.

Imperialist movives can be further cloaked, if necessary, under the guise of collective "security."

What that would mean was shown by H. N. Brailsford in Reynolds News the House at the next session. In a copyright article he on Sunday. described it as

an informal alliance of two Empires for the characteristic imperial ends of national prestige and class profit. . . If you reply that this action will be undertaken for China's sake, you must explain why it was proposed, not when China was invaded, but only after the Panay had been sunk.

It rests with the British and American people to tell their Governments they will not support such a move. Typical of the large-scale efforts to this end in the U.S.A. are Daily Express last week to describe as advising members to:



Snow in the Lake District

A peaceful scene near Grasmere

CHINESE SAY-

"No Real Peace While There is Hate"

CHINESE preachers and teachers are saying,

It will do no good to hate the Japanese. We must all strive for real peace, and real peace will never come whilst we have hate. Whether the Japanese advance to Nanking or Hankow, whether we are beaten or not, is not nearly so important as whether or not we are

being real followers of Christ." o writes a friend in Hankow to a PEACE NEWS correspondent, the Rev. W. C. Roberts, of St. George's, London, W.C.1, in a letter received on Christmas Day.

1. Write to the President, telling him that in no circumstances do they wish him to use armed force, or the threat of it, either to protect U.S. interests or citizens, or to settle

conflicts.

2. Write to their senators urging them to insist on having Senate resolution nine (making war legally impossible for the U.S.A.) reported out of committee at the next

3. Write to their Congress representatives urging them to introduce this resolution in

danger may not be quite so close (if getting America to fight its battles for

But Britain is equally responsible for the system of imperialism out of which it has grown. Only we can end that system, by refusing to fight its wars and insisting on its abandonment. The real mean-ing of the present high-sounding talk must be impressed upon the people of House, London, N.W.1, on his return this country until they do end it.

ACTION WANTED -NOT "MERE TALK"

Only Way to Turn the World from War

PUBLIC DEMAND FOR A PEACE LEAD

CUPPORT for an appeal for action — "as distinct from the mere continuance of talk"—to "set the wheels of international economic cooperation working" came from George Lansbury, the Rev. Henry Carter, and Percy W. Bartlett, in a letter published in The Times last week.

Writing from Vienna, one of the capitals visited on their peace mission to Central Europe, they expressed the belief that the present moment was favourable for such practical attempts.

After a warning that "opportunity may pass beyond recall," they continued: -

Americans have seen the danger, and are acting. For Britons the the mind of nations from reliance on competitive armaments, and indeed from violence of any kind, is to urge their governments to the British Government is successful in unite in continuous efforts to develop the plentiful resources of the world for universal numan good.

> We are in a position to say that the forthcoming report of M. Van Zeeland will receive the careful and sympathetic consideration of those with whom we have conferred, if on perusal, it is seen to offer ways of genuine economic improvement.

Mr. Lansbury developed the same argument at a meeting in Friends to England last week. He had come

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Pledge Union Christian paci-ley and have discussion of it of pacifism. 15 p.m. every inema, Com-support. Tea

g yesterday a e spoken on be a pacifist."

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back, he said, comforted by the IN PRISON knowledge that our own statesmen were at last beginning to make a start toward finding the solution of the economic problem.

TOWARD A WORLD **CONFERENCE?**

A chance for action as distinct from mere talk on the part of our statesmen may be forthcoming very

On the arrival in Paris last week of M. Van Zeeland (who has been exploring the possibilities of a world trade revival), the newspaper Information said that his report was likely to be submitted shortly to the governments concerned.

It was believed that the report would suggest negotiations between Britain, France, the United States, Germany, and Italy, to clear the way for a world economic conference.

Other moves believed to be discussed in the report were:-

Establishment of an international centre for economic studies:

Gradual breaking down of economic

Stabilization of currencies; and Mobilization of frozen credits.

THEY TOLD THEIR M.P.

If this report is to result in more than "the mere continuance of talk," however, public opinion needs to be on the afert.

action such as is proposed by Mr. Lansbury be urged upon the electors. to whom those in power must answer, but people with a more direct personal responsibility need to be convinced. An example of the kind of action that can be taken has been provided by the Slough group of the Peace Pledge Union.

These pacifists wrote to their M.P., Major-General Sir Alfred Knox, putting the case for a constructive policy to replace the present policy of trusting in armaments. Two points they emphasized were:-

The need for a world conference to "strike a fatal blow at the causes of international fear and strife," and

'Reorganization of the League of Nations on a new, modified basis, acceptable by all those Powers which do not cooperate with the League at present.

The latter appeared to be the only point of agreement between these pacifists and their M.P., whose reply expressed a hostile attitude toward the Peace Pledge Union. But that is no cause for despair.

The fact that he replied at all revealed an awareness of his responsibility as a representative of the people. It also shows that, until a vigorous public opinion demands constructive action to stop large nations. war, official action is not to be expected. If everyone who is alive to the need tackles his fellows (and his M.P.) such a demand will be created that action cannot be long delayed.

(In next week's PEACE NEWS some impressions [gained when he accompanied Mr. Lansbury to Central Europel as to "the shape of things in Europe during the coming year.")

BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

The fact that they were able to enjoy Christmas in the usual carefree way did not prevent many people from remembering the pacifist schoolmaster, Mr. F. C. Ade, who spent Christmas in Brixton Prison. He is serving a 21 days' sentence for refusal to pay that portion of his income tax which, he calculates, goes to pay for armaments.

By Monday he had received some forty Christmas cards. numerous were these tokens of remembrance that the arrival of any more was likely to lead someone in authority to "draw the line"!

Mr. Ade was visited on Monday by his wife. On Christmas Day he was allowed a visit lasting five minutes from John Barclay, Groups Organizer of the Peace Pledge Union, who told PEACE NEWS that Mr. Ade seemed fairly well.

Parliament

BRITAIN SEEKS PEACE-BUT . . .

Not only should the need for BRITAIN'S tasks in the sphere of

A search for peace,

Observance of obligations, and Defence of British interests and territory.

That was the definition given by Mr Eden at the end of a foreign affairs debate in Parliament last week.

Earlier, Mr. Attlee had made the customary denunciation of the Government's foreign policy, but it was significant that certain passages, such as his condemnation of anti-British propa-ganda, particularly in the near East, were cheered by his opponents as well as supporters.

Ignoring the impossibility of "enforcing" a rule of law (especially in a world where injustice is rampant) Mr. Attlee said the real difference between Labour's foreign policy and that of the Government lay in the fact that the former was based on defence of the rule of law, while the latter stood only for the defence of narrow British

The Prime Minister took the opportunity to repeat the familiar repudiation of any attempt to form rival blocs—although Mr. Eden later paraded the fact of British-American consultation over the Far Eastern situation. Mr. Eden also refuted the charge of refusng to support the rule of law, and showed how the League was rendered ineffectual by the absence of other

COMMENT ABROAD

Although Italian observers the debate an illustration of the confusion, indecision, and lack of a sense of realities which they find in British foreign policy, in some German quarters evidence of a "healthy realism' Mr. Percy Bartlett will give was found in parts of the Premier's speech.

(Our Lobby Correspondent will resume his Parliamentary Notes when the House reassembles next month.)

A PLAN FOR PEACE

-E. G. Macfarlane-

writes this article, which is the first of a short series giving individual views on the practical problems involved in planning for peace.

much vague talk lately about the establishment of 'an instrument of international order" we never seem to get much further than this.

LTHOUGH we have heard

I am going to try, therefore, to outline briefly a policy which the British Government or some other responsible body could bring before the nations of the world so that a cooperative linking can be brought about among those who take part. The general idea is this:

The territory of all the nations who agreed to take part in the scheme would be considered as the territory of a single new State and would be divided, for the purpose of electing members to a new super-parliament, into a number of regions.

In order that the new super-parliament would not be too unwieldy these regions would necessarily be very much bigger than those presently allotted to members of the present national parliaments.

(For instance, Scotland might only send three or four members to the super-parlia-ment while the number sent to Westminster (which would, of course, still function) might be very much greater than that. The regions might be arranged so that they overlapped the present national boundaries. This would tend to abolish the temptation to pander to the "narrow national" spirit on the part of the aspiring members. However, this is a minor point.)

To Bring Justice

Now, what is the function of the new super-parliament? It is, briefly, all the people within the boundary of the territory of the new State, irrespective of race or class, nation irrespective of race or class, nation or creed.

The particular part it would play in this work would be to consider the wider effects of all national legislation, and generally speaking to act as a "second chamber" for all national executive bodies under its dominion.

It would not, of course, have anything to do with purely domestic matters such as the kind of roads or bridges or schools which were proposed. It would be concerned rather with all national legislation which had international repercussions such as tariffs, and so on.

scheme are many and varied. Let us take two topical points.

First of all the German desire for colonies. If Hitler is so desirous of peace as he says he is he will be glad to hear of a plan which will allow the people in Germany to get away to work in a new country on a basis of equality with others. The Ger-

man cry all along has been for peace and equality of status.

Under this scheme they would have both and, if they cared to come into the scheme, legislation would soon be under way which would allow any surplus German people to come into any of the territory of the new State on equal terms with everybody else.

The same holds for Japan Although there can be no excuse for the horrors they are perpetrain against the civil population in China the Japanese have a case for action of some sort in the fact that they are cramped while Australia is not the Japanese liked to come into this scheme and the people of the British Commonwealth were likewise agreeable, we would undoubtedly have laid the foundation of satisfaction on the part of the Japanese and peace between them and the rest of the

At least the leaders of those countries would no longer able to stir up their people with the story that the other nations have made no move of any kind to help them in their predicament.

Effect of Centralization

Then more general arguments might be used. It might be pointed out that history seems to show that centralization of governing authority brought an end to wars.

For instance, so long as the city States of Greece remained autonomous they were continually going to war with each other; but when common government was formed these disappeared.

The Next Step

We had the same thing in Scot Clan wars only came to an en when they were brought successfully under the common government under a Scottish king. Then English-Scottish wars ended with the formation of the condensation of the scotter with the formation of the scotter with tion of the common British govern ment. It seems obvious that the next step must be the union of the modern positions modern nations under a common governing authority.

creed theories, there may be found a sufficient number of sensible people who reclies the first sensible people of 3 who realize the indeterminacy of all creeds and the stupidity of racial national, and class prejudices as will national the stupidity of racial national and class prejudices as will national the stupidity of racial national and class prejudices as will not stuping the stuping of the stuping enable us to get the new governing authority set up as quickly and as efficiently as possible.

Even within Britain at the present moment we have all races, classes, and creeds living peacefully ing gether (at least to the extent of not using homes to the extent of the control of the co using bombs and shells). seems no reason why, with courage and intelligence, we may not have the whole world on the same footing.

My suggestion toward this end is the setting up of a super-parliament the setting up of a super-parliament the members of which are exceed direct by the people. With good will and sincerity about peace, and justice and sincerity about peace, and justice for all it could be done. Let us exfor all it could be done Now the arguments hort the peoples and their governin favour of the ments to accept and promote this worthy idea.

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WHY THERE SHOULD BE NO BOYCOTT OF JAPAN

"No Chance of Internal Collapse" —Uncensored Tokyo Message

APAN WILL NOT COLLAPSE. That is the burden of an uncensored, first-hand estimate of the position in that country which PEACE NEWS has received from Tokyo, via the Nofrontier News Service.

This message, which is given below, gives reasons why, on practical grounds alone, a boycott of Japan would be useless.

Tokyo. It is not surprising that many liberals in England and America feel that active economic pressure should be applied to Japan.

It is doubtless felt that this, together with the unexpectedly vigorous Chinese resistance, may lead to an internal collapse and a more liberal government here. But the best informed foreigners with the longest Periods of residence here are pretty well agreed that such an outcome is unlikely.

There is no possible chance of internal revolt. Foreign pressure will only unify the country. Economic collapse is possible but by no means imminent.

The wisest course may well be the suppression of even official moral condemnation and of all forms of economic pressure till the time comes or settlement, then the utmost effort to aid the liberal forces in Japan who will at that time be able to work for inoderation.

Although this may seem to involve compromise, it appears likely that it is the only course which has even the faintest chance of doing China any good.

Liberals are greatly concerned lest after the actual fighting is over the country fall into a genuinely fascist regime. In spite of the very great preponderance of the military in governmental affairs, especially since september, 1931, it can be demonstrated that Japan has not so far been under a completely fascist military districts military dictatorship.

PLAYING INTO FASCISTS' HANDS

Liberals here feel very strongly that open attack on Japan by

Irish Preacher's Stand

From Our Own Correspondent

The pastor in charge of Harcourt Street Baptist Chapel, Dublin, recently and war." Unlike most church addresses it was followed by a discussion in an adjoining hall, and the preacher's stand was ancourage.

Although unable to send delagations of the international Anti-Although unable to send delagations. the preacher's stand was encouraging

The pastor declared that any unprejudiced reader of the New Testament must feel that the inessage of love and forgiveness was incompatible with the cool, calculated killing of men as was

done in all war.
While many texts could be quoted to support this view it was the whole life and death of Jesus that forced him to the pacifist conclusion.

Many problems must arise from

Many problems must arise from laking this stand and the charge of A Christian's primary duty, however, has to be true to Christ, believing that in that way the best would come. He urged those who claimed to be Christians to be pacifists, and reminded those who were pacifists that Christ could supply the essential dynamic of love and self-sacrifice.

It will be a great day for Ireland when the majority of preachers take this stand.

Western democracies, particularly England and America, plays directly into the hands of Japanese fascists.

Very great numbers of intelligent and influential Japanese are most earnestly opposed to a fascist regime and view with great alarm the growing rap-prochement with Italy and Ger-

There is singularly little appreciation in Japan of the hypocrisy involved in the persistently repeated statement that this country desires no territory. Most Japanese still seem to believe that genuine autonomy is possible in North China together with full cooperation with Japan. It is doubtful whether any of the real political and military leaders believe

The Japanese people do believe that the present government of China is definitely leagued with communism. They honestly think Japan is protecting not only herself but China and the whole world from communist domination.

Whatever the Western world thinks of such a viewpoint, it must reckon with this public feeling, which per-meates Japanese opinion, and no policy toward the Far Eastern crisis will be realistic which ignores it.

EXPANSION ESSENTIAL

A boycott of Japan would probably drive her to a more intensive exploitation of China, comments The Wayfarer. Such a proud and sensitive nation, it continues,

would, as Kagawa suggests, commit hara-kiri rather than own itself in the wrong. . . The first to suffer from a boycott would be, as always, the common people.

The Wayfarer points out the need for understanding Japan's position,

TOY SOLDIERS IN RETREAT!

TOY soldiers still hold important salients but under a barrage of popular protest have had to retreat on certain fronts. This news from the American "front" is contained in a Nofrontier News Service message from New York on the eve of

in Spain

HOW SOME SOLVED IT

Christians" forms the subject of an article on Christian Endeavour in a ever seen. bulletin published in Barcelona.

They had to choose, says the article whether to become volunteers and fight or to be called fascists.

"The first alternative required that they take up arms and break the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill'; the second implied adherence to a political ideal in which they had no

The majority enrolled in the positions in clerical service.

"It would seem that not only in this country there are great bodies Endeavour Times.

"It is interesting to note that the Spanish Endeavourers have arrived at

and indicates the real problem to be solved:

fertile, export trade is essential if Japan's millions are to be fed; hindered in one

Dilemma of Pacifists the Christmas holiday season. Arnold Constable, large New

part."

sanitary service and occupied posts in the most dangerous positions; others took up administrative

in the ranks of Christian Endeavourers who have very serious doubts about fighting," comments the treasurer of the British Christian Endeavour Union, in The Christian

their conclusion by the same road that many here have. Having promised to do 'Whatever He would like to have me do,' we feel we can neither fight nor sanction others fighting on our behalf."

With only one sixth of her soil

Anti-Militarist Struggle in U.S.S.R.

RUSSIAN followers of Tolstoy compelled to defend their liberty of are carrying on an almost super-

Although unable to send delegates to take part in two international conferences of war resisters held during the summer of 1937, they have given their comrades all over the world to understand that they feel themselves united with all who stand for social justice and the defence of human personality.

Lenin more or less spared religious sects, especially Tolstoyans. To him was due the 1920 law on conscientious refusal of military service.

Under Stalin, however, the lot of the religious non-conformists became more and more difficult (continues Persdienst), until their only hope lay in the founding of the Altaï commune near Kousnetzk, in Siberia.

Even there they were continually the commune.

conscience and to struggle against the authorities.

At first the commune numbered about 1,000. In 1933 the most inflexible were removed by the authorities and taken north, where they are now living in a second colony. Before long several members of this colony were arrested, either on account of propaganda for free communism or for refusing military service.

TROUBLE OVER SCHOOL

The school of the Altai commune, based on the Soviet school programme, had obtained the right to abstain from military and anti-The educational religious instruction. inspector was satisfied with the results obtained.

After a few years, however, the authorities tried to force a director on the school who was a Stalinist, and demanded that the school should be entirely remodelled after the model of the State schools. The commune refused and the school had to be closed. Last summer, however, the school building was given back to

York department store, has barred the sale of all military toys (continues the message). One or two others show signs of weakening. On THE dilemma with which the war the other hand a major Woolworth in Spain confronted "vigorous store has had one of the most extensive window displays of war toys

> The large and famous toy establishment of F.A.O. Schwarz continues to advertise and sell military toys out of what it contends is deference to the wishes of customers. Protesting customers are told, however, that it is not committed to military toys as of value in themselves.

PROGRESSIVE ACTION

Progress is slow, but it comes. The example, reported in last week's PEACE NEWS, of Mrs. Oscar Caplan, who destroys military toys and substitutes constructive ones, is not a solitary one. Thus the Illinois Congress of Parents and Teachers said recently: -

The child learns primarily through the play situation which is specific and per-sonal rather than through the more abstract and general precepts in teaching of parent or school. . . . Bad habits are best avoided or overcome by acquiring a new habit in place of the old one. May we not apply this indirectly to the toy weapon problem?

Branches of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom are promoting anti-military toy propaganda. This has included:-Asking magazine and newspaper editors for cooperation;

Exhibit of "good" versus "bad" toys in window of a store, and Letters to big stores urging a "peace policy"

in toy departments.

A letter to Mrs. Roosevelt asking her to discuss the subject in writing or on the radio had a prompt response.

In her syndicated newspaper column America's "First Lady" wrote "Don't give war toys to children."

"What a splendid gesture for peace it would be," comments a Hampshire correspondent of PEACE NEWS, "if England's very gracious 'First Lady' refused herself to attend or allow her two daughters to attend military tournaments, tattoos, air pageants, &c." (British stores and war toys-page

Other Side of the Picture

While these efforts are proceeding to make children peace-minded, from South America comes the following news, showing how militarism does its best to "catch 'em young":-

In the secondary schools of Peru military instruction has been increased from one to three hours a week. The University of Lima (capital of Peru) recently rejected a psychological, moral, and social study of non-violence made by a candidate for a doctor's degree.

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Headquarters' Notes

By MAX PLOWMAN

A Happy New Year to every member of the P.P.U.! And our greeting is more than a wish, it's a New Year's resolution. For isn't it part of our pledge that, so far as in us lies, we intend to make the new year a happy

The world is starved of its common bread-and-butter virtues. Decent, honest, family folk as most of its citizens are individually, they are today prevented from expressing their common neighbourliness and ordinary goodwill toward one another because at the back of their minds, and on the forefront of their daily newssheets, lies the foreboding thought that at any moment, against their wills, they may be thrown into mortal conflict of so low and horrible a nature that the self-protective mind boggles at the thought of it and we speak of "war," meaning we know not what.

The pacifist is one who has accepted his own personal responsibility for the creation and maintenance of this ghastly spectre of fear. He is not an ostrich: he does not deny the possibility of war. But he says that, in so far as he has any power, he will not use his power for the maintenance of this horror. That would seem to be an eminently rational resolution, and the thousands of the P.P.U. are witness to its simple rationality. But millions have become so innured to the thought of themselves as inseparable from the mass, and liable to mass-action just as and when the majority decides to move violently, that they puzzle their heads wanting to find ways in which to sway the whole of society toward peace before they have decided to put their own weight into the scale. To all such the Peace Pledge offers the way out. It says: Determine your own moral responsibility and decide upon your own response to the appeal of violence before you attempt to legislate for the world. Once you have freed yourself from the temptation to do what you know to be wicked, futile and unnecessary, you will have begun to reverse the wheels which now threaten to grind civilization to powder. For how can the whole of society practice the common bread-and-butter virtues of civilized and social man when that part of it which is the individual, reserves to itself the right on any occasion to behave with barbarous inhumanity?

"Watchman, what of the night?" What of the P.P.U. at this vital moment in its history? Does the watchman answer: "A cold and frosty morning. War clouds on the you now." Are we going to fulfil that promise right up to the hilt? Can we take the hard knock of losing two leaders in three months and go straight ahead without a quiver? These are momentous days. We shall make or mar the P.P.U. for many

The Notice Board

Acknowledgment: 7s. 6d. from "Pat" for Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund.

Will the person who picked up copy of the Citadel, left on balcony floor at Albert Hall meeting on December 4, kindly return to Reid, 14 Bridge Street, Godalming, Surrey. It is of very great sentimental value to the owner.

Two suggestions for

THE NEW YEAR

IF 75,000 P.P.U. members put aside 1d. per day throughout 1938, Dick Sheppard's memorial would be well on its way to completion.

(The above was found in John Barclay's postbag.)

I notice in PEACE NEWS the suggestion that money usually spent on Christmas presents should be sent to the P.P.U. May I add a further suggestion-that all P.P.U. members should give up smoking for a year, and send the money to P.P.U. funds?
P. MARGARET CLARKE.

44 Clarence Road, King's Heath, Birmingham, 14.

THE CITY'S GUESTS

It really was a merry Christmas for some thirty Bethnal Green and Stepney guests of the City P.P.U. group when, on Thursday of last week, they were entertained to an enjoyable Christmas party in a City restaurant.

The group was grateful to those who responded to the invitation in PEACE NEWS to assist them in making this effort to meet-if only temporarilythe needs of those whose only hope seems to be in the work that war brings. As a result about half as many again as had originally been invited were able to enjoy the party and receive toys, socks, stockings, or other useful gifts.

It is hoped to follow up the effort with a charabanc party in the summer.

Dr. Sheppard the leader he was, has been inherited by us so plenteously that we are not looking for leaders because we know our objectives to a man? Finally, do we understand the corporate charity demanded of us (of which Dick Sheppard was the fountain head) by means of which we shall abstain from the tempting cleverness of being merely critical, shall be able to forgive one another until seventytimes seven, and from day to day promote our own and another's creative activity within the Movement as by sheer habit of living?

Let's have no hanging back and looking at one another now: no weighing up of who's who, no waiting for a lead, no hammering upon the finer points of authority and routine while the foul epidemic of war-mindedness is crying out for 7-13: Members' Self-Denial Week. horizon, but a bright and rising sun breaking through. All's well." Every one of us is a watchman on behalf pacifists yet, and some of us need our peace poppies. of the P.P.U. To what heights is our own keep-fit campaign if we are ever 13: PEACE NEWS reached new high great movement going to rise within to be anything better than second or circulation level of about 15,000. e next 365 days? "We can not fail third grade pacifists. "Whosoever 20: James H. Hudson started "Parliawill be chief among you, let him be mentary Notes" in PEACE NEWS. your servant." And let us remember, above all, that we hold in trust a gay and happy spirit that looked on tempests and was never shakenexcept to laughter. Let us practice London, collection reaching £8,940. incessantly that imagination which days to come according to our can see the other fellow's point of actions now. Can we rise to the oc- view without getting cantankerous connected with rearmament. casion and show the world that the over it, because it can also see beyond spirit and the understanding, and it with the bright eyes of indomitable

LOOKING BACK

Some P.P.U. events of 1937

JANUARY

2: Announcement of decision to co-operate with War Resisters' Inter-national in helping Spanish children.

9: PEACE NEWS increased size from eight to twelve pages; Lord Ponsonby became regular contributor; circulation, 6,500.

13: First meeting, in Bristol, of new year campaign which continued almost every night to February 6.

FEBRUARY

6: Special conference of No More War Movement decided to merge with P.P.U.

28: Mass demonstration in Hyde Park, London, to protest against Government decision to spend £1,500,000,000 on rearmament.

MARCH

6: Margery Rayne resigned position of organizing secretary.

13: Announced that Max Plowman had become organizing secretary.

27: P.P.U. referred to by Dutch visitor to London in BBC's "In Town Tonight" programme.

APRIL

28: Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard, Wilfred Wellock, Max Plowman, and John Barclay at P.P.U. conference in South

1: Middleton Murry started "A Weekly Commentary" in PEACE NEWS.

29: Announced that P.P.U. would open Basque House, Langham, for 50 or 60 refugees.

5: First anniversary of PEACE NEWS; circulation, 10,000.

26: Demonstration at Hendon R.A.F. Pageant.

JULY

3: PEACE NEWS banned from Manchester public libraries.

14: Demonstration during South Coast "black out."

31: Opening of Swanwick camp.

31—August 7: Demonstrations at Tidworth Tattoo.

AUGUST

31: Death of Brig. - Gen. F. P. Crozier. **OCTOBER**

12: Public meeting in Queen's Hall. London, to demand abolition of all war (as opposed to particular campaign against Japan).

23: Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. 31: Death of Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard.

NOVEMBER

6: Dick Sheppard Memorial Number of PEACE NEWS.

DECEMBER

4: Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund launched at meeting in Albert Hall,

18: Lancashire member chose unemployment rather than undertake work

(A list of events of interest to the spirit and the understanding, and it with the bright eyes of indomitable whole peace movement appears on above all the driving power that made charity and invincible good humour.

GROUP NOTES

By JOHN BARCLAY

THIS will be an exciting year; let there be no mistake about that! Adventure is supposed to appeal to the younger generation so I advise all those who love adventure to join the P.P.U. The future is in the hands of those of us who are prepared to "face the unknown with a cheer." War is not inevitable and it is with this belief that we can stir the imagination of the hosts of people who want peace as much as we do but who have allowed the fear of war to dishearten them and so give up the sruggle. Hope and courage can blaze the way so that others will follow. Our case must be put with courtesy, intelligence and passion. Use of the spoken word must be backed up with the help of the cinema and the dramatic force of the stage. Filled with the passionate certainty ourselves, we can fire the zeal of others and awaken the interest of the still unconverted. Only by unrelenting sacrifice can we expect to be believed and trusted. Everything which prevents us working for the end we have in view must be put aside. Books, pamphlets and posters must be distributed in their hundreds of thousands and humour and understanding must be used in their distribution. We start 1938 with about 740 groups, that is to say 740 contact points from which to permeate public opinion. Training, study and discipline inside and a willing service outside. Dick Sheppard once said to me that he built his hopes on the quality of the membership. Success will only come if we justify this.

There are centres now in London, Manchester, Birmingham, and Glasgow. Before long we shall have the country covered with a network of groups and centres so connected that the steady throb of progress emanating from Headquarters will be felt simultaneously in all parts and the inspiration that comes from united effort will vitalize everyone. What then must be our first task? To increase the membership by leaps and bounds, to form regional committees which link up every group in the area covered by such committees, and to carry on a ceaseless activity which will turn the desire for peace into a demand against which nothing can avail. That is the primary task of the Peace Pledge Union in its active outside work Side by side with this, as was written last week, must be the training in small groups of leaders capable of carrying the necessary work which will come from an increased member-Pacifism is not only philosophy but a working creed.

Another Pacifist Councillor

Miss Emily Rogers, of Oswestry, is yet another name to be added to the list of pacifists who were successful ful in council elections held recently. She is a member of the P.P.U.

APPRECIATED

The Dorking group has been asked to give performances of the play The Bishop's Candlesticks at local meetings. A performance at the group's recent Christmas party, attended by some seventy guests, was heartily applauded.

AFTER 1 surer ev thirty years M.P., resigned Trades Coun-Party, rather denial of free

Salter's-polit

January 1,

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PACIFI

In an interv Dr. Salter i fascists held South-East Lo scenes as a demonstration special sub-co ey Trades Labour Party the official Policy was to protesting demonstratic acting in le Policy.

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Resigned Rather than Deny Free Speech to Opponents

PACIFIST M.P. AND ANTI-FASCIST VIOLENCE

By a PEACE NEWS Reporter

AFTER having been its trea-| refused the right to have meetings surer ever since he founded it thirty years ago, Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P., resigned from the Bermondsey Trades Council and Borough Labour Party, rather than condone the latter's denial of free speech to its-and Dr. Salter's—political opponents.

In an interview with PEACE NEWS, Dr. Salter recalled that when the his attitude, there is no question of fascists held their march through South-East London there were violent scenes as a result of the counterdemonstration pre-arranged by a special sub-committee of the Bermondsey Trades Council and Borough Labour Party, in spite of the fact that the official London Labour Party policy was to boycott the march. In Protesting against the counterdemonstration, Dr. Salter was thus acting in loyalty to his party's Policy.

But it was more than that. For in his own constituency of West Bermondsey (over which the trades



Dr. Alfred Salter, M.P.

council has no control in parliamen-^{tary} matters) his action is not only recognized, but supported, as springing from his pacifist faith.

OTHER RESIGNATIONS

"In West Bermondsey Labour arty," said Dr. Salter, "there are a large number of pacifists, and people are linking my attitude in this matter with my pacifism.

"In fact it is what they would expect both from Douglas and my-self." Mr. J. A. W. Douglas was ecretary of the trades council, and oth he and the assistant secretary, Mr. E. Snowdon, have already re-igned in protest. Dr. Salter added:

"Thirty years ago we fought for the right to hold meetings at the very place where Mosley was to have his meeting, and we could not approve of the action of the council in denying to others what it claimed for itself. Still less could we approve of acts of violence to prevent them from asserting their right.

Communists have repeatedly been occasion.

by conservative councils, and we have fought for their right." Yet now the trades council, which Dr. Salter declared was largely under communist influence, was doing the same thing to its opponents.

In view of the fact that Dr. Salter represents West Bermondsey only, which constituency party supports the protests affecting his parliamentary position.

Good Start to the New Year

ONE of the first pacifist events of the new year will be the pacifist convention to be held in Bristol next Saturday (January 8). This is the fourth convention sponsored by the Parliamentary Pacifist Group.

Four M.P.s will address the convention - George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, Cecil H. Wilson, and Fred Messer. Other speakers will be the Rev. Henry Carter, Dr. Alex Wood, James H. Hudson, Miss Mary Gamble, and Richard C. Wood. The chairman will be Laurence Housman.

Organizations sending delegates, or individuals wishing to attend, should apply immediately to Harold F. Bing, The Folk House, College Green, Bristol, 1, for credentials and details of resolutions, &c.

The fee for delegates is 1s. (six for 5s.). The charge for visitors, who will not have the right to vote, is also 1s. To make sure of obtaining tea, applications for tea tickets (1s. each) should be made at the same time as those for credentials.

P.P.U. and Peace Council's "Charter"

The executive committee of the Peace Pledge Union decided last week to leave individual groups to decide the attitude they would adopt toward the Charter for Peace and Social Justice published by the National Peace Council.

A national campaign in support of the charter is planned by the peace council.

COMMUNION IN ST. PAUL'S

Between forty and sixty people now attend the celebration of Holy Communion in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral at 7.45 every Wednesday morning, which had been planned by Canon Dick Sheppard just before his death.

Some of them come from con-

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Here is the Peace Centre which Hull members of the Peace Pledge Union have now been running for some months. It embodies an idea which is becoming more and more popularread "Peace Book Shops," page eight.

FIRST NIGHTS

of new London shows

CINDERELLA. Prince's.

HE most refined of the pantomimes. Greta Fayne surrounded by snow in Cinderella's ever-dazzling coach. Madge Elliott our most dashing principal boy. Stanley Lupino as Buttons. Tots as usual and a joke about an old boiling fowl.

BEAUTY AND THE BEAST.

Lyceum. The funniest of the pantomimes. Clarkson Rose in superb confections as dazzling as Douglas Byng. Jill Esmond investing her principal boy with histrionics worthy of the Open Air Theatre. Elizabethan soldiers cheek by jowl with 17th century elaborate transformation lovelies, scene, and a joke about an old boiling

ALADDIN. Adelphi.

The longest of the pantomimes. Elsie Randolph cuts half a dash in tights, Arthur Riscoe, Charles Austin and the Egbert Bros. go Palladium with paste, and a joke about an old boiling fowl.

Pantomimes apart, Christmas was a grim week. However Hungarian, A Lady's Gentleman at the Vaudeville, with Ronald Squire as a political valet, is almost as thin-witted as it is thinplotted. Bedtime Story at the Garrick presents a sugarstick heroine in a Cinderella story with a flat for a palace and a general air of 1912, when it would still have been old-fashioned.

Choose Your Time at the Piccadilly includes Nelson Keys below par, Florence Desmond in triumphant form, Donald Duck for those who dither about Disney, and a little siderable distances. The Dean of St. comedy called Talk of the Devil that Paul's was celebrant on a recent is supposed to be a short long play but is more like a long short one. You Can't Take It With You at the St. James's was a great hit in America, but needs an American company to explain the reason.

ANTI-WAR PLAY IN SCHOOL

At Southgate County School prize distribution last week Neil Grant's war-condemning fantasy, The Last War, was played before an attentive audience. This is an admirable play for presentation in schools.

A Tale of Toy Soldiers

THIS BOY DIDN'T BELIEVE IN WAR

From a Correspondent

ON visiting Selfridge's London store a boy, eight or nine years of age, was presented with a gift by "Father Christmas." But he was suspicious. Was it a box

of soldiers? he asked.

"Yes," came the reply.

"Then please will you change them," he said, "I don't believe in

And they were changed.

A PEACE-MINDED SHOP

There is at least one shop which caters for boys of such sensible discrimination. An advertisement in the Christmas number of Time and Tide declared, under the heading We don't stock war toys!:-

Women who discriminate should be glad to know at this time of year of a toyshop which stocks only good toys and children's books which display a certain balance and common sense in their authors.

(Toy soldiers in retreat in the U.S.A. -page three.)

New Community Body Meets a Need

No sooner had a body been set up to link the hitherto isolated communities in different parts of the country which are working for a new social order, than proof of its usefulness has become apparent.

The aid of the Community Coordinating Service Committee which, as reported in PEACE NEWS a fortnight ago, was formed at a recent London conference, has been sought by Cecil Harrison, who runs a one-man farm in Wiltshire, and wishes to develop along communal lines.

With this end in view he has a vacancy for two war resisters capable of looking after nine acres of land, three goats, and two sheep (and additions). It is also hoped to rebuild a ruined cottage.

Inquiries should be sent to Cecil Harrison, care of Mr. A. E. Merrett, Sells Green, Seend, Wiltshire.

Constructive Work in **Derelict Areas**

Information about the latest developments of the work in the Special Areas of An Order of friends given in a new quarterly entitled TOWARD the New Community.

More particularly it will give news of the two subsistence production experiments for older unemployed men in Lancashire and South Wales, of the work that has come to be known as the "Brvnmawr Experiment," and of the new industries — furniture and bootmaking-started at Brynmawr.

An article in the first issue describes graphically the position of older unemployed men in the Special Areas and outlines a proposed subsistence production community to be built by unemployed members.

The subscription rate for TO-WARD the New Community is 10s. per annum, payable to An Order of friends, Denistone, Abergavenny, Monmouthshire.

Peace Rews

Editorial, Publishing, and Advertisement Offices: 59 Waterfall Road, London, N.11

Tel: Enterprise 1888

Subscription Rates:

Quarterly: 2s. 9d. Yearly: 10s. 6d

THE PEACE PLEDGE UNION welcomes all who accept the pacifist doctrine, no matter what their approach. Its activity is not confined to the registration of those who are opposed war, but promotes and encourages a constructive peace blicy. Members are attached to local groups designed to achieve a communal peace mentality and extend the influence of pacifism by propaganda and personal example.

Give your pledge on a post card:

I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another.

Sign this, add your address, and send the card to The Peace Pledge Union, 96 Regent Street, London, W.I.

January 1, 1938

ARE PACIFISTS SMUG?

THE charge of smugness is perhaps the most unpleasant that can be levelled against people who hold their principles dearly. It is one which is easily made against pacifists. The charge is merited whenever persons holding high principles identify themselves with the truth as they see it and pose as embodiments of something they at best do no more than attempt to practise. Pacifism is at once an ideal and a very real form of practical self-discipline. We can practise the self-discipline of pacifism without being unduly open to the charge of smugness; but the person who poses as a complete pacifist and thinks himself a whit better than the next man on that account has misread his creed. What we all ought to be is pacifists by inner compulsion. We need to be pacifists just because any other way of life should be a moral and physical impossibility to an ordinary humane person living consciously in the twentieth century.

"Consciously" is the point. This consciousness should be of society as a whole and of ourselves in relation to it. But people who have never examined their own personal responsibilities to society are often the first to charge pacifists with smugness. They see, for example, Japan making war on China, and in a very natural if precipitate anxiety to do something about it, they propose a boycott against Japan and charge pacifists with smugness if they will not join in the racket. This charge they could only make by completely failing to understand the nature of pacifism, which is not the subtle and judicial method of assessing the rights and wrongs of any particular quarrel, or the degree of brutal inhumanity internationally punishable, but a doctrine of total abstention from war and the practice of a policy of non-violent resistance instead. The pacifist is not the policeman who breaks up brawls either in the house or in the street: he is the much less judicial person who says that if he himself tries to practise a decent manner of living, brawling saying; but that he can jump into the middle of ing, and a fortress of unity from the attacks of no restriction, and specialized activity as and a war and stop it by turning of one to a top it by turning of one top it by turning one top it by turning of one top it by turning of one top it by turning of one top it by turning one top it by turning of one top it by turning of one top it by turning a war and stop it by turning off one tap and extermination of war by the total abstention "smug," but had earned the name of hypocrite. ever pressing the problems of the moment.

Unity Within The Peace Pledge Union

By CAPTAIN PHILIP S. MUMFORD



ICK SHEPPARD'S Peace Pledge Union has now started its new year without the personal guidance and presence of its founder. Upon the decisions of its leaders and the actions of its members during the next twelve months may well depend the fate of Europe for many generations. Believing, as we pacifists do, that the abjuration of violence is an inevitable necessity for the preservation of civilization we may well be appalled at the responsibility that is ours.

As the work of the P.P.U. develops from month to month we are brought nearer to the realization that the mere fact of becoming pacifists, though no small step to many of us, is but a comparatively short way along the road to peace. The problems—"Which way to peace?" and "What are you going to do about it"-still remain to be worked out in practical

Our present strength is due to the genius of Canon Sheppard in bringing together, under one banner, people whose approach to pacifism is fundamentally different. Honesty of thought has led the spiritual, the intellectual, and the practical students of affairs in impressive numbers to the same point—the denial of the use of violence. Let us remember, however, that because they have come to that point from different directions they may therefore be expected to proceed from that point again in ways that may tend to diverge.

The problem of our organization will be to simple one our founder has bequeather acts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge Within there is room for all individual pacifists or leave facts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge Within there is room for all individual pacifists or leave facts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge within there is room for all individual pacifists or leave facts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge within there is room for all individual pacifists or leave facts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge within there is room for all individual pacifists or leave facts but give its differing elements freedom to diverge within there is room for all individual pacifists. to practise a decent manner of living, brawling give its differing elements freedom to diverge Within there is room for all individual particular genius, whilst and all sections that renounce war. We need with pable of serio in short, is not interested in punishment but in retaining them all within its orbit—an orbit of reform. That he would not willingly permit the such practical reality that all shades of pacifism supply of munitions to anyone goes without can find therein a haven of mutual understand- ment itself there must be no domination.

turning on another, seems to him a complete from it. And if, nationally-speaking, he tried misunderstanding of the nature of war and of to stop somebody else at war, and at the same the causes that bring it about. He is out for time reserved to himself the right to go to war something far more radical and far less whenever he thought fit, then he would conimprovised. He is concerned with the total sider that he not only deserved the epithet

the outside world.

It is, of course, no difficult task to write out high-sounding formulas to which all will agree, but which may so easily be forgotten in the hurly burly of everyday problems. "Which way to peace?" is so easily answered by "My way to peace," and "My way to peace" being so obviously right the other fellow's must be wrong. Critics will be tempted to raise their voices, as indeed they should do as long as that criticism is sincere and not merely an expression of personal disappointment.

Perhaps one of the greatest dangers will come from sectional criticism. "The Peace Pledge Union is becoming too Christian-too intellectual-too political" and so on, and so forth. Here let us remind ourselves of one of the most wonderful characteristics of a wonderful leader-real tolerance. How often, at sponsors' and executive meetings, have watched struggles, perhaps unconscious ones, between groups who fain would have swayed the whole movement toward their particular point of view. How often, afterwards, have 1 marvelled at the way in which our chairman. whom we have no longer with us, guided those meetings, with no sense of friction, to a balance where all went away satisfied.

His personal charm is no longer there to help us, but the genius of his intuition in the past remains as a guide for our actions in the future. Like so many of the greatest men it Ministry of Italian was often his simplicity which we found hardest war, to understand at the time, and it is to that simplicity that we must cling now that we no longer possess a personal leader. "I renounce War" is written on the banner under which he gathered us together and, under that unequivocal pledge, we can remain united whilst at the same time specializing in those activities which each of us believes will bring peace nearer.

Some of us want a recall to religion. Others are more interested in pacifist candidates for Parliament. Many find inspiration in Richard Gregg's European translation of Gandhi's philosophy, and others again feel the necessity for as complete a withdrawal from the entire economic and political life of our present crazy civilization as may be found possible.

Such be our differences amongst ourselves in peace time; differences which must reflect themselves in our personal behaviour should hostilities break out, when each one of us will have to answer the question as to what work amongst the inevitable destruction our consciences will demand of, or deny to us.

Let our organization, therefore, remain the The problem of our organization will be to simple one our founder has bequeathed to us. all those who will take that oath and all who take it will need the P.P.U. Within the moveno restriction, and specialized activity as must when sections consider it necessary must is obtained the list of the remain the actions of sections and not of the movement. We are, and we must remain, if we are to fulfil the purpose for which we were founded, the Union of all the pacifists. There wards in these lies our function. Do not let us forget it how-

itself as suc ndicate that b

On the day the rmistice Day, 1 centery at Delverought to the control of the contr be made in a d been found bodies of B practically no dir ears, and the pained indefinitely Sir F. Maurice aight reminded to sallantly in the through no fault ithout pensions hronic sickness I wish to appea 33,000] who plight today is re lot only no cure War are now near on their post-War with their fellowund, in letter to There are, acc len'sl association esult of War ser Eighteen years hat the War was ad survived its o a new life of Great War's sailo lany of them wi mental hospital.— Welfare Society.

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PARS FOR THE **PLATFORM**

Vhat War Means

is not so much the actual horror of warfare itself as such results as the following extracts indicate that bring home to people the meaning of

On the day the writer visited the Somme [shortly before armistice Day, 1937] they were burying British dead in the temetery at Delville Wood. Newly found bodies had been be made in a day or two. The week before thirty bodies deen found within a mile or two of Arras. Last year de been found within a mile or two of cathanias has been bodies of British soldiers were found. There has been soldiers of found in recent practically no diminution in the numbers so found in recent years, and the probabilities are that this rate will be main-lained indefinitely.—Manchester Guardian, November 11, 1937. Sir F. Maurice, president of the Legion, in a statement last sight reminded the public that many thousands who served saliantly in the war are now the victims of unemployment rough no fault of their own, and that there are thousands thout pensions who will never work again because of conic sickness caused by the rigours and privations of the

years.—Manchester Guardian, November 11, 1937. Wish to appeal on behalf of the soldiers and sailors [more n 33,000] who were deafened in the Great War, whose only no cure for deafness but their deafness increases, many men who were only slightly deafened during the their post-War employment or to find work in competition the their fellow-men.—Chairman, Deafened Ex-Service Men's md, in letter to *The Times*, November 10, 1937.

there are, according to the [British Limbless Ex-Service en's] association, 423,000 ex-Service men in the United ingdom who are suffering permanent disablement as a direct ult of War service.—The Times, November 8, 1937.

Eighteen years ago today the bells rang out their message at the War was over. But to many thousands of those who ad support was a support of the prolonger than the ad survived its horrors their pæans were but the prologue a new life of bitter suffering. . . . There are 6,000 of the ireat War's sailors, soldiers, and airmen in mental hospitals. It was the will never again mix with their fellows. Many of them will never again mix with their fellows. Ousands more live in the ever-threatening shadow of the last hospital.—From the 1936 appeal of the Ex-Services

We Are Preparing for it

YET the world goes on preparing to do all that over again, as these recent indications show: Italy. Over again, as these recent indications show.—

principal Ministries in the year 1938-39 are as follows:—

Ministry of Italian Africa, 1,785,000,000 lire (1,614,000,000 lire a 1937-38); War, 2,591,000,000 lire (2,491,000,000 lire in 1937-38);

Marine, 1,943,000,000 lire (1,792,000,000 lire in 1937-38);

Ines, December 16. (This is the second year of Italy's four
car rearmament plan)

Great Britain. Sir Thomas Inskip, Minister for the Cordination of Defence . . . thought it would be a good thing
all appreciated the weight of the programme and the cost
would involve to bring it to a successful conclusion. In Would involve to bring it to a successful conclusion. In 1913-14 the country spent something like £77,000,000 upon the wo Defence Services. In a typical year after the War, 1924, feer the depression the amount was £103,000,000 on what ere then the three Services. In 1937 the expenditure had en £278,000,000, and in 1938-39, estimates of which had still be prepared, the expenditure would be something between prepared, the expenditure would be something between 0.000,000 and £340,000,000 with, in addition, £5,000,000 to 0,000,000 and £340,000,000 with, in addition, 2,000,000 upon air raid precautions, and other additions in spect of necessary services.—The Times, December 15.

rance. The Chamber of Deputies passed the Air Estimates erday [December 11] by 523 votes to 1. They amount to ut £10,000,000—an increase of £5,500,000 compared with 1937 figures.—Daily Telegraph, December 13. The total military expenditure for 1938 amounts to about

in insurance against attack," is recommended by the Secreblic tonight [November 28]. The military air force, he tags is already practically on a war-time basis, and the bally Telegraph. November 29. y Telegraph, November 29.

nis Mad Race-

That argument is put forward here sincerely, and with the byledge that many people will reply sarcastically, "So Hitler s, and every other nation." If you reduce the arms race to terms the thing DOES make nonsense. And, of course,

No, this is not our final, withering comment on the dual pacifists of lacts but that of the Daily Express of Novem-dual pacifists of lacts but that of the Daily Express is quite We need pable of seriously advocating what it knows to be nsense, the responsibility of those who are not pretred to do so to have the courage to renounce the hole thing for themselves now.

and the Alternative

EGATIVE though it be, that refusal to assist what is obviously mad is an absolutely essential first toward sanity. What that involves will become enough; but it was indicated by the Rev. Leyton chards in these words in a letter in the Manchester ardian of December 4:-

onal cooperation? The power to lord it over subject races

(Continued on page 11, column 4)

A Weekly Commentary

A POLITICIAN PACIFISM AND

APPARENTLY, Mr. Kingsley Martin is in "recipes" for peace and "efforts" for peace. the condition of being almost persuaded to be an absolute pacifist. But he lingers shivering on the brink. And a curious article in The New Statesman of Christmas Day is the outcome of his hesitation. A curious article, I call it: for it opens with this sentence: "The strength of pacifism today is the breakdown of all the recipes for preventing war"; and it concludes with this one:—

Today, as I see it, the crux for the Peace Pledge Union lies in this: idealists will not be satisfied by a refusal to fight in the future; they want to take part in the efforts that are being made to stop war now. As soon as they do that, the P.P.U. will find itself involved in current politics. Politics must involve compromise and conjure up intellectual and moral problems for which the refusal to fight does not in itself provide a solution.

That paragraph seems to me to call for examination. Pacifism is strong today because all the "recipes" for preventing war break down. But pacifists will want to take part in the efforts that are being made to stop war now. These "efforts," obviously, must be quite distinct from the "recipes" for preventing war, which have all broken down. And the whole of Mr. Martin's argument, if it is (as I presume) consistent with itself, really rests upon this distinction between "recipes" for peace, which are illusory and fallacious, and "efforts" for peace, which are not.

But, curiously, Mr. Martin does not enter into a consideration of the nature of these 'efforts," which are so vitally distinct from the 'recipes." All he tells us is that participation in these "efforts" will involve the P.P.U. in current 'politics," which "must involve compromise.' Again, I assume that Mr. Martin is serious, and is not using empty phrases. In that case, the only kind of compromise which is relevant to his argument is a compromise between the absolute pacifist position and the non-pacifist position: in fact, a compromise of the pacifist

It is time to recapitulate; and I ask my readers' pardon if I am found to labour the obvious. But Mr. Martin is a clever man; and I wish to deal with him faithfully. This is his argument, as I unravel it. All "recipes" for peace are fallacious: therefore the absolute pacifists are right in pledging themselves as individuals to take no part in war, because there is no other way of doing anything effective to prevent war. But there are other ways of bove facts but that of the Daily Express of Novemdoing something effective to prevent war their pacifist position.

> It strikes me as a very strange and bewildered argument. And one cause of its confusion is manifest: the apparently flat contradiction between the postulate that all "recipes" for fallacious. Unless the argument is nonsensical,

What can it be? There is, first, the assertion that "efforts" for peace are not fallacious, whereas "recipes" for peace are. But that does not help us, because Mr. Martin avoids describing these "efforts." A second line of interpretation is more hopeful. If the argument is serious, then the "efforts" for peace are such that an absolute pacifist can participate in them without compromising his pacifism. That is reasonable enough. No one imagines that George Lansbury compromises his pacifist position by his "peace embassies," for example. And unless this is what Mr. Martin means, it is impossible to make any sense of his phrase: 'as soon as the members of the P.P.U. do that" (i.e., participate in these "efforts" for peace). These efforts, therefore, must be such as the members of the P.P.U. can participate in without violating their pledge. If this is so, how can this participation in "efforts" for peace compel any compromise of the pacifist position? Mr. Martin's argument here is extraordinary. "Efforts for peace" are "politics"; 'politics" involves "compromise." That is not argument, but abracadabra. I cannot help feeling that, for some reason or other, Mr. Martin wants to convince himself that the P.P.U. must, in order to be effective for peace. abandon its own pledge.

By J. Middleton Murry

The common conviction of the P.P.U. is that there can be only one kind of effective work for peace: namely, the work for peace that is based on the individual's absolute refusal to take part in war. That decision, whether made on moral or religious grounds, is final. Whatever efforts for peace are subsequently participated in cannot be such as involve any departure from this decision. If they do, then the member of the P.P.U. returns his pledge. Whether the P.P.U. will succeed or fail in preventing war, nobody can tell. That is in the lap of destiny, or the hands of God. But the P.P.U. is composed of men and women who are convinced that there is no other way finally to prevent war than by determining as individuals to have nothing whatever to do with it, and taking the consequences. And such "efforts" toward peace as the member of the P.P.U. participates in must be such as do not rest on the sanction of war.

The position is simple enough. Why does Mr. Martin confuse it, by conjuring up a kind of "efforts for peace" which may be effective without renunciation of war? If he believes that there are such, let him pursue them, and not worry his head over the P.P.U., which does not believe that they exist, and whose raison d'être is that conviction. It is perfectly true that "idealists will not be"-and pacifists cannot be-"satisfied by a refusal to fight in the future." But that does not mean that they must plunge into 'politics" as conceived by Mr. Martin. The politics of pacifism is pacifism, and all that pacifism implies. these are "efforts" for peace. Pacifists will It does not imply the same thing for everybody, yet; demand to participate in these. That will and perhaps it never will. But, I think, for most of us involve them in compromise—a compromise of it implies the acceptance of the necessity of a new kind of social and international justice. But the point which Mr. Martin has yet to understand is that the politics of pacifism is grounded in pacifism itself: and pacifism is the conviction that any condition of society, any condition for the individual, is better than participation in modern war. No "politics" which seeks to evade or obscure that position is compatible peace are fallacious, and the assertion that with pacifism. "The refusal to fight in itself does not there are "efforts" for peace which are not provide a solution to the intellectual and moral problems of politics," says Mr. Martin. The refusal to fight does not exist "in itself"—it is an act of a there must be some real distinction between developing human being; it has its own implications.

TWO MEN MADE THIS CHURCH

DICK SHEPPARD AND ST. MAR-TIN'S. R. J. Northcott. Longmans, Green. 3s. 6d.

Reviewed by

DR. A. HERBERT GRAY

THIS racily and charmingly written book has four special features of interest.

Firstly there is a vivid account of wonderful and romantic ministry at St. Martin's. That amazing story is well told, and the impression given of "Dick" himself will very nearly satisfy his dearest friends. Nothing could quite satisfy them because "Dick" cannot be put into words.

One is left simply amazed by the courage, the originality, the humour, the common sense, and above all the boundless love of that really heroic figure.

He knew how to make his church a home, and how to enrich the life of that home with incredibly various activities. He also knew how to make his church a national institution, and to spread its influence wherever English is spoken. All his friends may well combine in saying a sincere "Thank You" to Mr. Northcott.

Secondly, there is in this book a most understanding and gracious appreciation of "Dick's" fine successor, Pat McCormick.

To follow a great man is a very difficult adventure. To follow "Dick" would have seemed to most men impossible. That "Pat" should have done it with such complete success is a rare proof of the greatness of the man. His loyalty to "Dick" has never failed, and he has used his own great powers not only to carry on the work, but to add new features to it.

The third thing in this book is an account of the many and varied activities of St. Martin's in helping those who have fallen by the way.

Ordinary parsons will stand amazed before such a record. We could not do such things. But we can thank God that some men can and that they have done them. They are still doing them, and that more efficiently than ever.

The individual stories told in this section of the book are truly moving, and some are intensly amusing.

The last thing in the book is a short account of the history of St. Martin's.

It has had its ups and downs and at one time was believed to be a church without a future. And then two men were found who knew how to make it perhaps the most notable centre in the country of sincere adventuring and infinitely sympathetic

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FAMOUS

There is not a dull page in this book. The writer has displayed rare qualities of vivid narrative and real insight into people. He writes at times with real distinction, and the thousands all over the world who love St. Martin's may well unite in offering him their sincere gratitude.

In Brief . . .

GERMAN & CZECH: A Threat to European Peace. S. Grant Duff. (Preface by Hugh Dalton). New Fabian Research Bureau Gollancz. 1s.

Packed with facts, this booklet is in-valuable for all who would understand the present position in one of Europe's danger spots. The conclusion points out the responsibility resting upon Great Britain and others for removing the danger. The way in which peace-workers interpret that task varies with the emphasis they place on the need for "law and justice." Films

Plea for Peace for Children's Sake

To the Editor of PEACE NEWS

May I recommend an excellent antiwar film-The Road Back.

This reveals the mental derangement resulting from war, beside physical loss. It contains a powerful anti-war speech, stating that a murder in peace time is nothing compared with the slaughter of hundreds in war.

It concludes with a plea to march forward to peace to save our children, and displays the vast armament plans of all nations.

Definitely a good example of peace propaganda, it stresses the stupidity and hideous consequences of war.

BYRON IRELAND.

Alverstoke, Gosport, Hampshire.

An idea that is spreading—

PEACE BOOK SHOPS



This created a great stir . . .

"THE peace shop idea," said John Barclay, "is spreading rapidly."

This is good news, because a shop in a busy thoroughfare reaches men and women who cannot be induced to attend meetings.

The Hampstead and Willesden area group of the P.P.U. opened a book shop in Kilburn High Road for two weeks, and it created a great stir amongst the shoppers and business men of the district.

The bus stop is normally a hundred yards away from our shop window, but it was noticed with amusement after a time that drivers had slily drawn up immediately in front of the shop, so that the unfortunate passengers were compelled to stare at the headlines for at least half a minute. One driver, seeing a PEACE NEWS seller further down the High Road, stopped and leaned over to buy a copy, shouting, "good luck!" in a stentorian voice.

THOUSANDS of leaflets were distributed and only three were found thrown on the pavement. Two hundred and thirty copies of PEACE NEWS were sold one week. The organizers had a very efficient paper seller who shouted into all the buses and at all the passers by:—
"PEACE NEWS! Official paper of Dick Sheppard's Peace Pledge Union! Only Paper that tells Truth about Peace! PEACE NEWS!"

by Kathleen Bartlett

Compelled by the estate agent, the organizers had to insure the plate glass window, because, he people were sure to throw bricks. But the shop was well received. Men were surprised at the strength and sanity of the pacifist viewpoint; -they came to scoff, but remained to think. Many of them had only heard the word pacifist used as a term of derision, and they were impressed by our board of sponsors. They listened to arguments, took some of our literature and sometimes asked if they might have a pledge card as they would seriously consider joining the P.P.U.

WE did, of course, have our percentage of failures. Having dilated extensively upon Lord Baldwin's statement, "the bomber will always get through,"-having said that it was now impossible adequately to defend one's country by force of arms, my victim escaped my toils by remarking calmly, "Yes,-but that doesn't say 'm not going to try.'

One man was looking in the window, and on being asked if he was acquainted with the pacifist viewpoint, he barked: "Of course I'm a pacifist." Would you like to read our literature?" we ventured. "No!-I read the Bible! I have no need of other books!" "Will you sign our pledge card?" we asked tentatively. "No!" was the reply. "I know in my heart that I will not fight, and that is

There were many others who said that they would not consider fighting again and were willing to be imprisoned or shot rather than comply with military demands, but they did not wish to sign a pledge. It was a comforting thought that others outside actual pacifist organizations, would stand by in the event of

Daily lectures were held in the shop which were sometimes well attended. Members of the group gave definite hours during the day so that the shop was open from nine in the morning until nine at night.

Do You Know-

What Army Recruits Promise?

THE oath taken by recruits for the Regular Army and Supplementary Reserve makes an interesting contrast to the pledge signed by members of the Peace Pledge Union.

Here it is:-

I swear by Almighty God, that I will be faithful and bear true Allegiance to His Mariana dear true dear true Allegiance to His Mariana dear true dear giance to His Majesty King George the Sixth, His Heirs, and Successors, and that I sixtn, His Heirs, and Successors, and that I will, as in duty bound, honestly and faithfully defend His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, in Person, Crown, and Dignity against all enemies and will observe and obey all orders of His Majesty, His Heirs, and Successors, and of the Generals and Officers set over me Officers set over me.

Recruits for the Territorial Army take an oath which is similar as far as the words ". . .in Person, Crown, and Dignity against all enemies," and concludes: "according to the conditions of my service."

Compared with these, the wording of the P.P.U. pledge ("I renounce war and I will never support of sanction another") is simplicity itself even if the implications are not!

Incidentally a recruit who objects to taking the army oath on the grounds that he has no religious beliefs or that it would be contrary to his religious belief, is permitted to affirm. In such cases the words "swear by Almighty God" are deleted, and replaced by "do solemnly promise and declare."

Education

RECRUITING IN **SCHOOLS**

An application from the local recruiting officer for permission to get into touch with headmasters of elementary schools with a view to pointing out vacancies for boys in the army, raised an objection at a recent meeting of the Carlisle Education Committee.

A socialist member felt it would be going too far to take recruiting into the schools, and said he thought if boys desired an army career they would go into the army without a suggestion from the recruiting authorities.

It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the director, the chairman explaining that the committee was against any form of propaganda in schools.

The member insisted on a ruling however:—I take it that it is not the desire of the committee to allow a recruiting officer to enter any school premises.

The chairman: I do not think that will happen.

"... at last the right book has been written"

THE HEAR

The Prevention and Cure of Cardiac Conditions By JAMES C. THOMSON [Thorsons, 3s. 6d.]

A. S. Neill writes—"... the most optimistic book I have read on any medical subject. I wish I could give away a million copies."

From a Medical Doctor:—. I feel that at last the right book has been written. the needs of both patient and practitioner are supplied. Health & Life Editorial;—. Combining sound physiology, sound reasoning, sound payochology and sound instruction. has its root firmly in the strong soil of observation. technical knowledge and experience."

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Pacifist

January 1, 19



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IT CAN BE

DONE!

THE year 1938 opens with PEACE

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meeting.

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Help us to reach the 300 mark as

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rary appeared in the lists pub-

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Here, by the way, is the latest

PORTOBELLO (Edinburgh),

We're hoping to here from you

to time? If not, tell us.

CROYDON (5),

EASTBOURNE,

and WIGAN (3).

CALNE,

January 1, 1938

Radio

Pacifist Speakers on 'The Way to Peace'

By "ARIEL"

SOME of the talks in the series on "The Way to Peace" which, as reported in last week's PEACE NEWS, will open on January 13, promise to be of exceptional interest to pacifists. Three prominent pacifists will be taking part.

Among the speakers will be Lord Ponsonby and Mr. Wickham Steed on "Collective Security and Regional Pacts" (February 10); Dr. Alfred Salter and Colonel Josiah Wedgwood on "Pacifism" (February 24), and Lord Davies and Mr. L. P. Jacks on "The New Commonwealth" (March 3). In the opening talk an ex-Service man will state his

point of view. He knows nothing about the League or any other system, except so far as it is likely to preserve peace and so save his son from going through the hell which he has experienced himself. The other speaker will be Sir Alfred Zimmern, who will explain the present position regarding the League.

VERSAILLES

The second talk (January 20), promises to show up some of the blunders of the last nineteen years. PEACE NEWS, see that a request affairs come about?" it will review world conditions at the time of the signing of the Versailles Treaty and the League Covenant, and will come forward to the present day.

> The talks will be on the National programme from 8.30 p.m. to 9 p.m. every Thursday until March 31.

The BBC is to be congratulated on arranging this series, particulars -January-March, 1938, obtainable on

PACIFISM IN WAR TIME-4

Final article¦in the series by



SUGGEST that as a pacifist lation at the outbreak of war. a memorandum explaining to the inflict upon us, and suffer it not only world our attitude in the event of because we will not fight but because we insist on helping during our country becoming involved in a crisis without participation in an armed conflict.

citizens that war in any circumstances is criminal folly, we shall not obstruct those citizens in the prosecution of any armed conflict that may result-neither, of course, shall we cooperate either directly or indirectly in the struggle.

This point would need elaborating to indicate that though we should no longer actively encourage others to refuse to fight our pacifist conviction would remain open to any who sought its guidance.

Our declaration would then set out the humanitarian activities such as taking charge of civilian wounded, sick and starving people and, lastly, define the type of political work which we should continue and which, as already suggested, would take the line of working out in detail and laying before the public the kind of peace treaty which should terminate the conflict.

This proclamation having been published, we should immediately build up an organization capable of Captain Philip Mumford coming to the assistance of the popu-

Here then we should take our organization the Peace Pledge stand and suffer such martyrdom Union should firstly draw up as the Government may choose to the evil that caused that crisis.

There would be a short preamble Thus will that great body of giving the reasons for our pacifist opinion whose hearts are already faith and stressing the point that with us come to realize that we are while peace lasts we shall continue not a small body of cranks, theoretiall forms of opposition to partici- cally right but born before our time, of which it has published in a pamphlet pation in or preparation for armed but practical people who are doing entitled Talks for Discussion Groups conflict. We should then state that, real work among them and whose if we fail in our objective of ideals are therefore worthy of serious persuading the majority of fellow attention.

1937 IN RETROSPECT

Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, had accepted presidency of National Peace Council, in place of Dr. G. P. Gooch.
9: Formation announced of Pax, a
Roman Catholic body which would
give practical help to conscientious

| Signature | Signatu

became regular contributor; circulation, 6,500.

Church Assembly this week rejected pacifism, Archbishop of York declaring, "It can be a Christian duty to kill."

August

August

August

German pacifist winner of Nobel

8: Memorial containing proposals to stop drift to war was put before Prime Minister.

13: Baptist Times offered prizes for best reply to Bishop of London's views

MARCH ther listing some examples of this 13: Announced that Max Plowman 18: Parliamentary Pacifist Group held had become organizing secretary of convention in London. Peace Pledge Union.

Pacifist Esperanto League formed.

APRIL 5: Anglican pacifists held meeting in Central Hall, Westminster, followed by march of deputation to Lambeth Palace, to protest at Church Assembly decision. 17: First trial of a conscientious

objector in Austria. 19: George Lansbury left to see Hitler. 24: Parliamentary Pacifist Group held, in Manchester, its first pacifist con-

2: It was announced that Dr. E. W. 29 & 30: 27th National Peace Con-poppies.

JUNE

objectors.

PEACE NEWS increased size from eight to twelve pages; Lord Ponsonby

19: Report of Imperial Conference condemned "recourse to use of force" and offered cooperation with other nations.

peace a topic which sells?" asks an article in Fellowship—journal of the house Church, London, W.1, was to become a centre for peace work.

23: Announced that King's Weigh 24: George Lansbury, who had just visited Mussolini, appealed (in an exclusive article in PEACE NEWS) to FEBRUARY
6: Special delegate conference of No More War Movement decided Copenhagen, of War Resisters' Inter-

> German pacifist winner of Nobel Peace Prize for 1935, had just been allowed to receive prize-money.

> 28: Controversy aroused by publication of *The Men I Killed*, by Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier 31: Death of Brig.-Gen. F. P. Crozier.

SEPTEMBER

OCTOBER 6: Labour Party annual conference, Bournemouth, and pacifist demonstra-

23: Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard elected Lord Rector of Glasgow University. Publication of National Peace Coun-

13: Circulation of PEACE NEWS reached new high level of about

First conference of Christian Pacifist

27: Reported in PEACE NEWS that Government of Bengal would use non-violent policy in dealing with political offenders.

Pacifist successes in World Essay Competition reported in PEACE NEWS.

DECEMBER

4: Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund launched at Peace Pledge Union meeting in Albert Hall, London,

collection amounting to £8,940.
Conference on "Community Life and Service" in Kingsley Hall, London, E., resulted in coordination of activities of communities already at work being begun.

18: Lancashire factory worker re-ported to have given up his job rather than undertake work connected with rearmament.

All-Ireland Anti-War Crusade reported to have joined the War Resisters' International.

Christian Pacifist Party decided to admit associate members and indicated willingness to cooperate "in due time" with "a general pacifist party."

20: George Lansbury, Henry Carter, and Percy Bartlett returned from visiting leading statesmen in Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Austria.

22: Mr. F. C. Ade, an Eltham College cil's Charter for Peace and Social master, went to Brixton prison for 21 days for refusing to pay the rearma-31: Death of Dr. H. R. L. Sheppard.
NOVEMBER

ment proportion of his income tax.
25: Reported that industrial workers

11: Armistice Day; special non-military in India have been organized to safeceremony in Regent's Park, London; guard their interests on non-violent two City of London pacifists given principles.

in the Press

Whatever the cause," it continues, there is a growing list of magazines which print articles on the subject and

the recent publicity accorded to silence on pacifism.

If he is encouraged to continue to publish such material a wide public will be served that no peace organization has yet reached. Buy some extra copies to give away and

Demand for Peace

Can it be that editors and Publishing houses are finding

article in Fellowship—journal of the American Fellowship of Reconcilia-

lengthening row of books dealing with its specific problems."

This seems a parallel in some ways news of pacifist activity with which national newspapers in Britain broken their self-imposed on pacifism.

beace-mindedness, the article in Fellowship suggests:

When you see one of these fine articles in "general interest" periodicals will you not write a letter of commendation to the editor?

lell the editor that you have done

How to Spread the Pacifist Me**s**sage

1. Writing to the press

OPPORTUNITIES for putting the pacifist case in letters to the press constantly present themselves. The best opportunities probably occur in local newspapers. National daily newspapers can publish only a very small proportion of the letters received, and, as a rule, only short letters are published in full.

In the local press, however, different conditions prevail. Most newspapers in this category publish letters representing all sides of any question under discussion in the correspondence columns.

The opportunities for discussions may vary from a report in the paper of a councillor's views on air raid "precautions" to the local M.P.'s adulation of the Government as expressed at the opening of a local

It is a good idea for at least one member of a pacifist group to keep a watch on all local newspapers, and follow up any such opportunities or see that someone else does. In the drawing up of letters the following points are worth remembering:—

(a) Be as brief as you can. If the newspaper generally publishes letters up to 200 words in length, don't be surprised if your 500-word letter has been cut.

(b) Follow the style of the paper -e.g., in spelling. This lessens the editorial irritation and improves your own chances.

(c) Type your letters if possible. (Double-spacing helps, too.)

(d) Post early in the weekor don't be surprised if you miss one issue by leaving it too late!

(e) Don't send too many letters. Readers will tire of seeing the same name time after time, even if the editor

The True Spirit

Christmas; peace on earth; good-will toward men. Does this mean anything to us who have accepted the lead of the late Dick Sheppard?

If it does, let us at this time of the year go forward with renewed vigour, not solely with the idea of an sity education. It will not stimulate organized P.P.U., but with the true such members to know the smug spirit which our late leader asked us attitude of their leaders toward to accept. His pacifism was not, in my opinion, the pacifism solely opposed to war; but in the spirit of peace in oneself, love, and brotherhood. Let us then have the courage to form a resolution to start the new year with true love for each other, and decide in our own conscience that no matter what the sacrifice may be we are prepared to accept it.

As one who has worked among the masses and understands their everyand problems through being one of them, I make this earnest appeal for the sake of those who are struggling in life against adverse conditions, people who are good at heart, who long, not so much for good oratory or the arousing of passions, but for simplicity and, most of all, sincerity. Although material conditions must enter into the problem of peace, let the P.P.U. accept firstly this spirit of peace in its individual membership, and we can then make this movement greater than any that has gone before.

LETTERS

Will YOU Help to Create a New Year Record?

A MESSAGE FROM SCOTLAND

MAY I urge on all keen Peace Pledge Union signatories who have any time at all-particularly women—the urgency of getting PEACE NEWS on the streets of our towns and cities every Friday and Saturday?

Those who have already begun will, I am sure, endorse what I have to say.

I would like to recommend a start to be made somewhat in this way. Select an attractive poster from the local stock of peace posters, paste it to a sheet of stout wrapping paper; this is for carrying before you (like the newsboys) to show what you are about (to try to sell PEACE NEWS without a poster is nearly useless, as most people are past you before they realize that you have anything to sell).

Think out a good "pitch" where plenty of people pass shopping, or where full. there are bus-stops; decide upon your time—Friday afternoon, or Saturday morning or afternoon, and then having made the decision, stick to it!

Like getting into the sea on a windy day, it is surprising how delightful is the experience once you have taken the plunge. Energy flows through you; conventions are well lost.

Selling PEACE NEWS means much more than turning a financial loss into a financial gain. It means the dissemination of valuable information that the national press almost entirely suppresses; it means increased publicity for the cause; it means above all a personal testimony to the faith for which our leader, Dr. Sheppard, wore himself out.

Out on the street selling the paper one has many opportunities for service. People ask questions. Many are isolated sympathizers who want to link up. Topical slogans can be composed and used on groups of shoppers and at

Now please everybody do think this over and see what you can do as a regular or occasional seller to take our movement to the man in the street, who is suffering from cold feet and bewilderment at the way things are being allowed to run, and who is often too tired or "fed-up" to come to meetings.

Let's double the circulation in a month!

71 London Road, Kilmarnock.

cottage in a slum alley (about a mile from the Bank of England). I found a young mother (27) in bed expecting her baby during Christmas week. The bed clothes

consisted of a cotton coverlet and her

GOOD COMPANIONS

RE Arthur Wragg's cartoon "Christ-

space to bring this down to hard fact.

I visited a mean little two-roomed

mas Eve," may I be allowed

man's overcoat, nothing else. Her man had gone out at 5.30 a.m. (freezing hard) minus his overcoat and breakfast to look for work. Her only companion was her seven-year-There was very little food old son. and no firing in the house. She has applied for admission to the Maternity Ward of London Hospital, but has been refused as the hospital is

This is the kind of family for which I recently appealed in PEACE

Grateful thanks to those who have responded anonymously, and a repeated plea for further gifts of clothing and bedding, particularly for babies and small kiddies.

CHARLES STUART.

8 Higheroft Road, Crouch Hill, N.19.

Letters to the Editor should be as short as possible and written on one side of the paper only. Owing to the pressure on space we reserve the right to publish extracts from

Correspondents must send their names and addresses, though not necessarily for publication.

CHILDREN

were extremely perturbed by Max Plowman's article "Pacifism and the Child" in your issue of December 11. His main thesis, the central importance of working for children, no one would dispute, even though some may find the tone of his argument too sentimental. But when he draws the conclusion that the comfortably off should spend all they possibly can afford on their own children, and that inherited wealth is a good thing if handed on to the young, it is time to protest.

Firstly, the bulk of P.P.U. members certainly lack "five, ten, or fifteen thousand pounds;" their children inevitably go to elementary schools, and few are the scholarships available for secondary and univerfinancial possessions.

But secondly, we would challenge children. Is it right that, having money, we should use it to give our own offspring an expensive training world's desire to this particular method of "defending" own offspring an expensive training which we know is denied to thou-sands of children, many of whom would benefit more from it than our own? What is the difference morally between saying: "I am a wealthy nation and I will spend all I can afford on armaments to protect my colonies from being submerged" and "I am a wealthy man and I will spend all I can afford on training my children in order to safeguard their talents"?

Besides, is it "defending" children? Armaments appear to give security, superficially. Are not the "blessings" of a university education and expensive holidays abroad perhaps just as superficial?

Ultimately, of course, all children should have these things. But, until then, a policy of favouring the few may not strengthen the ideals of UNEMPLOYED GROUP LEADER. constructive pacifism, as we should

SEVERAL members of this branch wish; it will more likely emphasize the divisions and antagonisms between those few and others who have enjoyed a less comfortable youth. It will accentuate class-hatred as armaments accentuate nation-hatred. Surely the P.P.U. should represent not a society of absent minded rentiers but a fellowship of sharers.

ARNOLD KNEBEL. P. LAMARTINE YATES. W. Wickham Branch, Peace Pledge Union. 217 Queensway, W. Wickham, Kent.

SYBIL W. WHITE.

(We have received a number of letters criticizing the article on similar grounds, but at greater length and even more severely.-ED.)

Mr. Middleton Murry's and Mr. Max Plowman's articles on "Peace and the Child" are genuinely inspired. Pacifists are blazing the trail into a new world, and it seems to me that with rare insight these two writers have seen into the very heart of the

Children are the focal point of the world's desire, the symbol of a universal love. They are the one common ground upon which all races and all individualities can transcend personal selfishness, political ideolo-gies, sectarian religions, and eventu-ally even racial harreds. They should be made the object of a world-wide movement for constructive peace. The effect would be both immediate and cumulative.

Could not the Dick Sheppard Memorial Fund be used to inaugurate a practical scheme for the world's children? We are today reaping the bitter fruits of our cruelty to the children of Central Europe after the Armistice. Now is our opportunity to atone. Both in a superficial and in a very deep sense, if we make the child happy we shall disarm the father.

"Heathcote," Norwich Road, Fakenham, Norfolk.

I am glad the letter of Mary Morgan has introduced this aspect. She asks "Has anyone any suggestions?" Here are some.

1. Pacifist parents or relatives to get farmyards with animals (1d. and 2d.), carts, anistead of forts and soldiers. Encourage instead of forts and soldiers. Enco belong to farms, e.g., a mirror for the pond

2. Books on Missionary adventure Dragge 2. Books on Missionary adventure—Dr. Pennell, Livingstone, MacKay of Uganda, &c.: also William Penn. The Friends Book Centre, Euston Road, N.W.1, will have a selection; also Llewellyn Kiek, 13 Paternoster Row, E.C.4. The series Missionary Lives for Children, 1s. cach, is good.

3. Children delight in play-acting. Perhaps the P.P.U. will serve by publishing some for young people soon. I've enjoyed improvizing, with two boys in the boys in ing, with two boys, in the home, "Daniel in the lions' den," "the burning fiery furnace," "Jeremiah in the dungeon," &c., from the Bible—all have a pagific. Bible-all have a pacifist purpose.

C. H. HARTWELL.

70 Malden Road, Cheam, Surrey.

ANGLICAN PACIFIST FELLOWSHIP QUIET DAY

Saturday, January 8, 3 p.m. Cond.: The Rev. Fr. Andrew, S.D.C. Nhis last ad

at Holy Cross in S. Pancras NON - MEMBERS CORDIALLY INVITED

A special course of four sermons has been arranged at the above Church, at 6.30 p.m., as follows: January 9

The Rev. R. C. S. Gofton-Salmond January 16 The Rev. T. B. Scrutton January 23 The Rev. Gilbert Shaw

The Rev. Fr. Andrew, S.D.C.

The Church is in Cromer Street, Judd Street; within two minutes of King's Cross or S. Puneras Stationa-

January More Le

MANY (tax protest group.

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. HARTWELL.

OWSHIP 8. 3 p.m. Irew, S.D.C. Pancras LLY INVITED is been arranged at

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January 1, 1938

INCOME TAX PROTEST

MANY of your readers, I feel sure, would like to join in an income tax protest discussed by the Sale P.P.U.

The project is to send one's remittance direct to the Chancellor of the Exchequer with a letter protesting against the colossal expenditure on "Defence Services." (As a gesture of courtesy the envelope addressed to the local collector should be enclosed.) The writer has adopted this course for some years and never failed to receive personal letter of acknowledgment. The effect of this protest would be strongly enhanced by some hundreds of letters arriving the same day.

A. T. STONE. (Group Leader.)

18 Legh Road, Sale, Manchester.

China

We have received an Esperanto Bulletin printed in Hankow which requests us to make known the fact that they would like to receive letters greeting and messages of solidarity with the Chinese people.

All such messages from groups and individuals should be sent to me enclosing 21d. postage. We will translate lities for war risk insurance are them and send them off as fast as we

PHILIP WOOLFE,

Organizing secretary, British Labour Esperanto Association, by the tenant to China Greetings Campaign.

67 Colvestone Crescent, Hackney, E.8.

Milk

You report (PEACE NEWS, December 25) that a deputation of London housewives was told by the chairman of the Milk Marketing Board that the present price of milk was necessary to sure an adequate return to the pro-

Before anybody accepts this statement, it should be emphasized that out of the distributors' share of the excession. Dairies, Ltd., have paid a dividend of 121 percent for the last six years.

Housewives ought neither to blame price as necessary. They ought to understand that the distributors are exploiting to the consumers and the ploiting both the consumers and the

15 Hatherley Gardens,

East Ham, London, E.6.

CONTENTS BILLS

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"PEACE NEWS" Ask yours to take one weekly and then send us his name and address

From Our Own Correspondent

THE MAN OF THE YEAR

his last address for 1937 the Rev. to warn the world. Will Hayes, leader of Free Religious Movement (meeting in Lindsey Hall, wotting Hill Gate, London), said that he man of the year was the man who broke the silence at the Cenotaph on November 11—Stanley Storey.

His words—"Hypocrites! You are reparing for war!"—summed up the sheeps indignation of good men and onen the world over. In an earlier the would have become a legendary

"Hypocrites" was not too strong a word, said the preacher, to use of the so-called "National" Government. We were ruled by men who had lost their faith in humanity, who no longer believed that world peace was possible, and whose only policy was to pile up armaments in the hope that, when the day of calamity came, they would be able to get in the first blow.

The only way to end war, added Mr. Men might have said that he Hayes, was to start once more on the the Unknown Warrior come back basis of the duty we owed to humanity.

Who Will Pay When London Burns?

"BUSINESS AS USUAL" MAKES MEN BLIND

HE more schemes are drawn up for "protecting" this and that against damage by air attack, the more does it seem that the absurdity of the present situation must dawn upon the whole nation before long.

Not only are there futile schemes for the "protection" of strategic points -and even human beings, although the number of the latter makes them

of less importance — but certain arrangements of a "business" nature must be made to deal with an "emergency that may arise." Facing business men and millions of ordinary people is this problem: -

If the house in which a kind landlord permits you to live is blown to bits in an air raid, who

Simple-minded people who think insurance companies are only too happy to help those who have struck such a patch of bad luck will answer: "Why, the insurance, of course!"

unobtainable.

Just to make matters more awkward still, in most leases there is a covenant

Repair and keep in repair; Deliver up in good repair, and To insure

In other words the kind landlord has put the onus on the tenant, who, since insurance companies won't accept war risks, is unable to fulfil part of his obligation.

TO THE RESCUE!

The London Chamber of Commerce has now stepped into the breach. In a letter sent to the President of the Board of Trade it asks the Government

to introduce legislation to release tenants in whole or in part from the obligations of rebuilding clauses in their leases, where there is damage or destruction by enemy action, so long as war risk insurance facilities are unobtainable.

What terrible manner of blindness is this which prevents such a "businesslike" body as a chamber of commerce from seeing that the only hope for insurance companies, landlords, and tenants of property, and even chambers of commerce lies not in an attempt to avoid possible financial consequences of an air raid, but to prevent the air raid itself?

How long will landlord and tenant argue which of them is to

shoulder the cost of "repairs" when what was a house becomes a twentyfoot hole? (Not to mention the likelihood of both landlord and tenant being blown to a place where rent and repairs are not burning questions.)

Nero only fiddled while watching a fire he'd wanted to see. Such is the advance since his time that we now argue who is to pay for damage caused by a catastrophe nobody wants and which everybody could help to avert if they tried.

Peace Pledge Union

MEMORIAL FUND **PROPOSAL**

From Our Own Correspondent

A SUGGESTION that there might be a canvass of groups to find the feeling of Peace Pledge Union membership on what form the memorial to Dick Sheppard should take was made at a P.P.U. North Hampshire Regional committee meeting held at Winchester.

It was pointed out by a Southampton member that members wanted to know what ideas, if any at the moment, there were on the subject. He had read about the proposal for a hostel and possibly a new home for headquarters.

If members, and others, knew what they were actually subscribing for they might donate more.

Another representative quoted that Dick Sheppard had said that the Union was in dire need of money for propaganda.

The general opinion was that the fund should be used for the general development of the Union and a letter is to be sent to headquarters asking for information and outlining the points raised at the meeting.

West of England PACIFIST CONVENTION

CENTRAL HALL, BRISTOL

Saturday, 8 January, 1938

Speakers

GEORGE LANSBURY, M.P. DR. ALFRED SALTER, M.P. REV. HENRY CARTER, C.B.E. C. H. WILSON, M.P. FRED MESSER, M.P. DR. ALEX. WOOD MISS MARY GAMBLE JAS. H. HUDSON DICK WOOD

Chairman: LAURENCE HOUSMAN

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EARLY APPLICATION together with CASH t HAROLD F. BING, FOLKHOUSE, BRISTOL 1

Platform Pars

(Continued from page 7, column 1)

for a genuine trusteeship in the interests of the whole human family? Are we prepared to subordinate national sovereignty to the needs of the world at large? Such questions, I am well aware, touch patriotic sentiment on the raw, but if we shrink from sacrifice in the name of peace the alternative will be a resort to methods whose only issue will be infinite misery and a world in ruins.

Worse Than War"

THE editor of the Houghton Line, American house journal which describes itself as "not a yes-magazine" ("I'll say it isn't!" as they might remark over there), is "astonished and alarmed," at the "jellyfish patriotism," which is his name for the "wave of pacifism" that "is sweeping the United States like an epidemic of chicken

"But there are worse things than war," he tells those who oppose war, in his current issue. What's more, he is good enough to list some of thema total, if our arithmetic is correct, of

"Loss of liberty," which "is slavery."
"Destruction of our cities by a ruthless and prepared enemy."

"A peace maintained by truckling and paying tribute to another nation."

The second means that war is worse than war, which is too deep for us. But so do the others, really, if it comes to that. In fact, that's just the point. Pacifists are opposed to the absence of liberty, which is inherent in wage slavery, and they are certainly opposed to any peace that is maintained by "truckling and paying tribute to" anyone—including one's own nationals.

To the suggestion that war might be preferable (as if it were even separable!) the pacifist can only ask his American critic, "So what?" For there is not a shred of evidence that resort to war will not actually produce the so-called "worse things."

Aid for China?

N 1898 the Chinese Government needed money to pay the Japanese an indemnity. Here is a description (from China Looted - 1d. from Socialist Bookshop, 35 St. Bride Street, London, E.C.4) of how British sympathy (again being appealed to today) responded in China's hour of need:-

British interests undertook to give China the necessary "financial assistance." The 44 percent Gold Loan was floated. China borrowed £16 millions. Actually she received only £13 millions; the difference was kept by the banks as a commission of one sort or another! China had to under-take to repay the full capital of £16 millions, and in addition to pay interest for 45 years amounting to £22 millions.

Thus, for a loan of £13 millions, British banks and bondholders received back £38 millions, or 283 percent.

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January 1, 1938

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Owing to heavy pressure on space, only public meetings or meetings with special speakers (i.e. NOT regular, or branch meetings, unless addressed by an important public speaker) can be inserted in the "Diary of the Week."

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by Middleton Murry

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ILPORD; 8 p.m. The Gate House, Cranbrooke Road; Rev. A. G. Prichard; P.P.U.

(Sat.) BRISTOL; 2.30—5 p.m. and 6—8.30 p.m. Specific for the station of the station

WHERE TO STAY

COTSWOLDS. In the "Valley of Peace." Food Reform (vegetarian) Guest House. Old world charm: log fires: house car: 2½ guineas (except Manager an ex-"C.O." August). 'Fortune's Well," Sheepscombe, near Stroud, Gloucester.

DELIGHTFUL 16th CENTURY FARMHOUSE in Sussex is open as a guest-house to those desiring restful and health-giving holidays. Suitable for conferences or retreats. Profits are used to provide holidays for London slum-dwellers.

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Diary of the Week

January

- 2 (Sun.) BROCKLEY; 3 p.m. Baptist Church; men's meeting; John Bar-clay on "Why I will not fight"; P.P.U.
- 4 (Tues.) LONDON, W.1; 7.45 p.m. King's Weigh House (Club Entrance), Thomas Street; London Group Leaders' meeting; P.P.U.
- 5 (Wed.) LONDON, E.C.4; 7.45 a.m. St. Paul's Cathedral; Holy Com-munion (as planned by Dick Sheppard).

 LONDON, W.1; 6.30 p.m. 96
 Regent Street; Headquarters
 Dramatic Group; P.P.U.

 LIVERPOOL; 8 p.m. Central
 Hall, Renshaw Street; George Lansbury, Rev. Henry Carter, Rev. W. T. Hinsley (chairman); Merseyside Council of Christian Pacifist Groups.
- p.m. 13 Paternoster Row; E. Leighton Yates on "The Christian and Air Raid Precautions"; City P.P.U. group.

 NEWTON ABBOT; 7.30 p.m. People's Service Centre; W. B. Carry; P.P.U. ILFORD; 8 p.m. The Gate House, Cranbrooke Road; Rev. A. G.
- Convention; George Lansbury, Dr. Alfred Salter, Dr. Alex Wood, Laurence Housman (chairman) and others.
- 16 (Sun. Sun.) CHATHAM; Town Hall; peace week; L.N.U. (See col. 4.)

Coming Shortly

January 19, ISLINGTON; 8 p.m. Town Hall, Upper Street; James H. Hudson (chairman), Miss Mary Gamble, Canon Stuart Morris, and Dr. Donald O. Soper.

January 19, LEIGH-ON-SEA; 8 p.m. Brotherhood Hall, Cranleigh Drive; Dr. Alfred Salter; F.o.R.

January 20, NOTTINGHAM; 7.30 p.m. Albert Hall; Alderman W. Halls, George Lansbury, Canon Stuart Morris, John Barclay; Stuart P.P.U.

8 p.m. Cooperative Hall, Stafford Street; Canon Stuart Morris, Capt.

PEACE WEEK IN NAVAL TOWN

Chatham's Anti-War Exhibition

CHATHAM, a naval dockyard town, will be the scene of much activity during Medway Towns' Peace Week, to be held from January 9 to 16.

The Manchester Anti-War Exhibition and the Colonial Exhibition of the Council of Action will be open in Chatham Town Hall from 10.30 a.m. to 7 p.m. each day (2.30-7 p.m. only on the Monday).

The exhibition will be opened at 2.30 p.m. on Monday, January 10, and at 7.30 the same evening Captain Mumford, of the Peace Pledge Union, and Sir Robert Young will speak at a public meeting.

Other events to be held in the Town Hall include: -

Tuesday: 2.30 p.m., women's meeting. 7 p.m., film show (including War Is Hell).

Wednesday: 7.30 p.m. — midnight, dance.

Thursday: 7.30 p.m., play, Brother Sun, by Laurence Housman, followed by choir of eighty voices in concert version of Merrie England.

Friday: 7.30 p.m., two peace plays and prize distribution for schools competitions.

During the week there will also be poster parades, &c:

The peace week is under the auspices of local branches of the League of Nations Union, and in support of the four points of the International Peace Campaign. Pacifist organizations are cooperating, however, with certain reservations in regard to these points.

> Philip S. Mumford, H. Runham Brown, and Alderman Harrison Barrow (chairman); P.P.U.

January 27, FINSBURY PARK; 8 p.m. Methodist Church (opposite Park Gates); A. Ruth Fry, Lord Arnold, and H. Runham Brown;

January 24, WOLVERHAMPTON; February 4, WINCHESTER; Guildhall; Lord Ponsonby and Dr. Alex. Wood; P.P.U.

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No. 82

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